

Do Californians Support Reparations for Black Americans?

A Black Policy Project Research Paper

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This summer the California Reparations Task Force will release its final report after two years of public meetings, research and debate. Their report will articulate in detail the harms that Black Californians have experienced from the time of enslavement to the present and outline recommendations for repairing those harms. In view of the impending public debate the Task Force's final report is likely to spark, our team wanted to get a better picture of where Californians stood on the issue of reparations.

For greater context, to date, polling on reparations has largely been conducted through national surveys that have showed some but weak support for reparations. Given the demographic and political make-up of California, and how the state often differs from other regions of nation in public opinion polls, our team hypothesized the same might be true in terms of reparations. Thus, this research brief analyzes recent public opinion survey data from a representative sample of Californians conducted by the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) last year.

Our key findings are:

1. Overall, Californians express significant support for reparations measures for eligible Black Californians.

A majority of Californians agreed that some form of compensation is warranted to address racial harms affecting Blacks. However, the level of support varies by reparation measure. Of the 11 reparations measures presented, education (82%), health care (82%), and economic investments (79%) in Black communities received considerable support. Although still a majority, fewer Californians supported direct cash reparations. And a slightly greater percentage of Californians supported universal basic income as a reparations measure compared to direct cash compensation.

2. In California, the level of support for reparations measures overall and by type of measure varies by several key characteristics, most importantly respondents' race, age, political affiliation, and opinions about racial inequality in society.

Race is a key factor in understanding support for reparations for eligible Blacks, particularly for direct cash transfer measures. Blacks, and to a lesser extent LatinX Californians, are more likely to support all forms of reparations measures, including direct cash transfers, than White or Asian American Californians. Moreover, younger (Gen Z and Millennial) Californians are much more likely to support all forms of

reparations measures than those from the Gen X and Baby Boomer generations. In addition, Democrats, and to a lesser extent independents, are more likely to support all forms of reparations measures than Republicans. Finally, the results indicate that Californians who are concerned about racial inequality in social and economic outcomes are more likely to support all forms of reparations compared to those who do not share this concern.

3. The level of intensity of support for reparations – namely, the number of measures a respondent supports – varies by race, age, political affiliation, and opinions about racial inequality.

A majority (54%) of Californians support nine of the 11 reparations measures presented in the survey (defined here as “high-intensity supporters”), with the average Californian supporting seven. Moreover, compared to their counterparts, Black, LatinX, and younger Californians are more likely to be high-intensity supporters of reparations, as well as those who identify as Democrats or independents. Those who agree that racial inequality is a problem in society are also more likely to be high-intensity supporters of reparations measures in California than those who do not agree.

BACKGROUND

This research brief provides direct evidence of Californians' support for reparations proposals for eligible Black Americans. In California and across the United States, policymakers, advocates, and others have proposed such reparations to address racial harms.

Undoubtedly, the United States has made significant strides to address racial wrongs against Black Americans. For example, in 1964 and 1968, respectively, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act and the Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in employment and public accommodations and in the sale, rental, and financing of housing. Further, affirmative action and diversity policies aim to increase the presence of underrepresented groups in education and the workforce.

However, these and other initiatives have not fully addressed the systemic issues of racial inequality and discrimination that plague Black Americans to the present day. These issues manifest themselves in meaningful socioeconomic outcomes, such as racial wealth inequality. Reparations are one form of repair to address past harms inflicted upon Black Americans. However, despite continuous debate, neither Congress nor any state legislature has enacted comprehensive legislation to address these harms against Black Americans. This includes the "40 acres and a mule" promised by the U.S. government after emancipation more than a century ago as partial redress for the direct harms of slavery – a promise that was not kept.

In the recent past, some members of Congress have introduced reparations proposals at the federal level, most importantly Congressional bill H.R. 40. This bill, first introduced in 1989 by then-Congressman John Conyers, proposed to establish a commission to study reparations and inform policy recommendations. This bill has yet to receive serious consideration, even though other members reintroduced it several times over the past several decades.

In 2020, California Governor Gavin Newsom approved Assembly Bill 3121 (sponsored by Secretary of State Shirley Weber), which established the California Reparations Task Force. This law marked California as the first state in the nation to take legislative action to examine the role and consequences of slavery and to debate reparations proposals. The Reparations Task Force is responsible for investigating the institution of slavery and its continuing adverse effects on society and Black Americans living in California. The Task Force is also required to recommend appropriate remedies, such as

compensation, rehabilitation, and restitution for Black Americans, with particular consideration for descendants of those enslaved.

As the Task Force wraps up its work, very little is known about Californians' opinions regarding reparations proposals. These opinions are vital to understanding the extent to which the public supports these efforts. This study fills this void by providing direct evidence of Californians' levels of support for different reparations measures, including assessing the breadth and intensity of this support.

WHAT IS THE EVIDENCE REGARDING SUPPORT FOR REPARATIONS FOR BLACK AMERICANS?

Despite little movement at the federal or state level, several local jurisdictions and educational institutions across the country have taken action to study and implement reparations for their Black constituents. In 2022, Evanston, Illinois became the first city to provide its Black residents with reparations.¹ Evanston's reparations plan was informed by community input but did not include direct cash payments.² Instead, the plan focused on addressing racial harms from housing market discrimination before 1969; eligible residents afflicted by this discrimination received \$25,000 grants to be used for home repairs, mortgages, or down payments on homes.³

In early 2022, the city of Asheville, North Carolina appointed a Community Reparations Commission, consisting of council members as well as community members living in historical Black neighborhoods.⁴ In turn, Asheville committed \$2.1 million toward funding reparations.⁵

In California, San Francisco's reparations committee recommended \$5 million to every eligible Black resident, in addition to the elimination of personal debt and tax burdens, among other monetary reparation measures.⁶ Additionally, the formation of the 11-member Mayors Organized for Reparations and Equity (MORE) signals the intention of

¹ Mike Wendling, "Reparations: The US town paying its black residents," *BBC News*, October 12, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-63165668>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ City of Asheville, "Community Reparations Commission," accessed April 9, 2023, <https://www.ashevillenc.gov/department/city-clerk/boards-and-commissions/reparations-commission/>.

⁵ Associated Press, "North Carolina City Commits \$2.1M for Reparations," *Associated Press*, June 9, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/north-carolina-racial-injustice-business-race-and-ethnicity-d9190175bb260ba2882954fd731f8e92>.

⁶ Janie Har, "San Francisco Board Open to Reparations with \$5M Payouts," *Associated Press*, March 15, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/san-francisco-black-reparations-5-million-36899f7974c751950a8ce0e444f86189>.

additional local jurisdictions to form reparations commissions and distribute reparations in the near future, ranging from big cities such as Los Angeles, California to small towns such as Tullahassee, Oklahoma.⁷

Elite educational institutions such as Harvard, Georgetown, and Brown Universities, to name a prominent few, have committed to some form of reparations for admitted and current students who are descendants of the enslaved.⁸ These institutions have formally recognized their own ties to slavery and established scholarship funds to aid their Black students, among other remedies.

Despite these institutions and jurisdictions moving forward with reparations measures, public opinion on reparations requires further examination. Several previous studies have gauged Americans' attitudes regarding support for reparations for Black Americans.⁹ National polling in mid-2020 indicated that although more Americans recognized racial injustice in the United States, most (nearly 70%) did not support reparations. About 80% of Republicans opposed reparations for Black Americans, while only about one-third of Democrats supported them.¹⁰ A 2021 University of Massachusetts Amherst poll found that nearly two-thirds of Americans and 90% of Republicans opposed the idea of reparations.¹¹ Further, 46% of respondents agreed that the federal government "definitely should not" provide cash payments as reparations.¹² Despite these low levels of support, a review of polling studies found that support for direct cash payments as a form of reparations has increased over time, from about 15% in 2000 to nearly 31% in 2022.¹³

⁷ Mayors Organized for Reparations and Equity (MORE), "Home," MORE, accessed April 9, 2023, <https://moremayors.org/>.

⁸ Harvard University, "Recommendations to the President and Fellows of Harvard College," Harvard University, accessed April 9, 2023, <https://legacyofslavery.harvard.edu/report/recommendations-to-the-president-and-fellows-of-harvard-college>.

⁹ Carrie Blazina and Kiana Cox, "Black and White Americans Are Far Apart in Their Views of Reparations for Slavery," Pew Research Center, November 28, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/11/28/black-and-white-americans-are-far-apart-in-their-views-of-reparations-for-slavery/>.

¹⁰ Katanga Johnson, "U.S. Public More Aware of Racial Inequality but Still Rejects Reparations: Reuters/Ipsos Polling," *Reuters*, June 25, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-economy-reparations-poll/u-s-public-more-aware-of-racial-inequality-but-still-rejects-reparations-reuters-ipsos-polling-idUSKBN23W1NG>.

¹¹ University of Massachusetts Amherst, "UMass Amherst/WCVB Poll Finds Nearly Half of Americans Say the Federal Government Definitely Should Not Pay Reparations to the Descendants of Slaves," University of Massachusetts Amherst, April 29, 2021, <https://www.umass.edu/news/article/umass-amherstwcvb-poll-finds-nearly-half>.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Liberation Ventures, "Reparations Polling Roundup: The Last 25 Years," Medium.com, March 13, 2023, <https://medium.com/@liberationventures/reparations-polling-roundup-the-last-25-years-675daa494641>.

Recent polls indicate that race significantly predicts support for reparations. White Americans are less likely to support direct cash payment reparations and preferential treatment of Black Americans. However, Whites are less likely to oppose symbolic gestures such as formal apologies and memorials.¹⁴ The Pew Research report finds similar results using polling data of U.S. adults from 2021: 18% of Whites support reparations compared to 77% of Blacks.¹⁵

The level of support for reparations may have grown since these polls were conducted due to major national events highlighting racial disparities. Many of the polls were conducted immediately before, during or right after a time of growing public awareness of police brutality toward Blacks, fueled by the Black Lives Matter movement and the horrific deaths of Michael Brown, George Floyd, and Breonna Taylor, among many others. Growing attention toward racial injustice among a broad swath of Americans in the aftermath of these racial atrocities may influence support for reparations today.

In addition, support for reparations for Black Americans may be stronger than previously observed because of how reparations have been defined or understood. Many past opinion polls explicitly defined reparations as direct cash transfers to Black Americans. Most Americans view direct transfers of cash negatively and this view in turn negatively influences support for reparations more generally. When surveys define reparations measures more broadly to include additional activities, such as providing other kinds of economic but non-cash benefits (e.g. business or education grants), support is higher.¹⁶

Our study took these lessons into consideration and examined public support for reparations in California. Importantly, we gauged support for a broad array of reparations measures. We asked respondents about their support for 11 reparations measures of different types (including direct cash transfers). We assessed support for these reparations measures for Californians overall and by key characteristics including race, age, gender, political party affiliation, and opinions about racial inequality.

¹⁴ Ashley V. Reichelmann and Matthew O. Hunt, "How We Repair It: White Americans' Attitudes toward Reparations," Brookings Institution, December 8, 2021, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2021/12/08/how-we-repair-it-white-americans-attitudes-toward-reparations/>.

¹⁵ Carrie Blazina and Kiana Cox, "Black and White Americans Are Far Apart in Their Views of Reparations for Slavery," Pew Research Center, November 28, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/11/28/black-and-white-americans-are-far-apart-in-their-views-of-reparations-for-slavery/>.

¹⁶ See Liberation Ventures, "Reparations Polling Roundup: The Last 25 Years," and, Carrie Blazina and Kiana Cox, "Black and White Americans Are Far Apart in Their Views of Reparations for Slavery."

METHODS OF INQUIRY

To gauge public opinion on reparations proposals, the Ralph Bunche Center for African American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) conducted a close-ended statewide representative survey from May 10 to June 6, 2022. A total of 2,419 adults over the age of 18 were surveyed through web-based methods administered by a third-party survey firm, Lucid Holdings Marketplace. The sample was proportionally stratified by race, ethnicity, age, and gender using the 2020 American Community Survey (ACS) 1-year estimates for California. Our margin of error is +/- 5%.

In our study, we derived the main variables of interest from questions asking about support for 11 different reparations measures. For example, we asked: *“For the atrocities in California, I support/oppose the following specific measures for eligible Blacks.”* Support for each reparations measure queried includes those who indicated that they were either “strongly likely” or “likely” to support the measure. Possible answers also included “no support” or “less likely” to support, in addition to having “no position” on the matter.

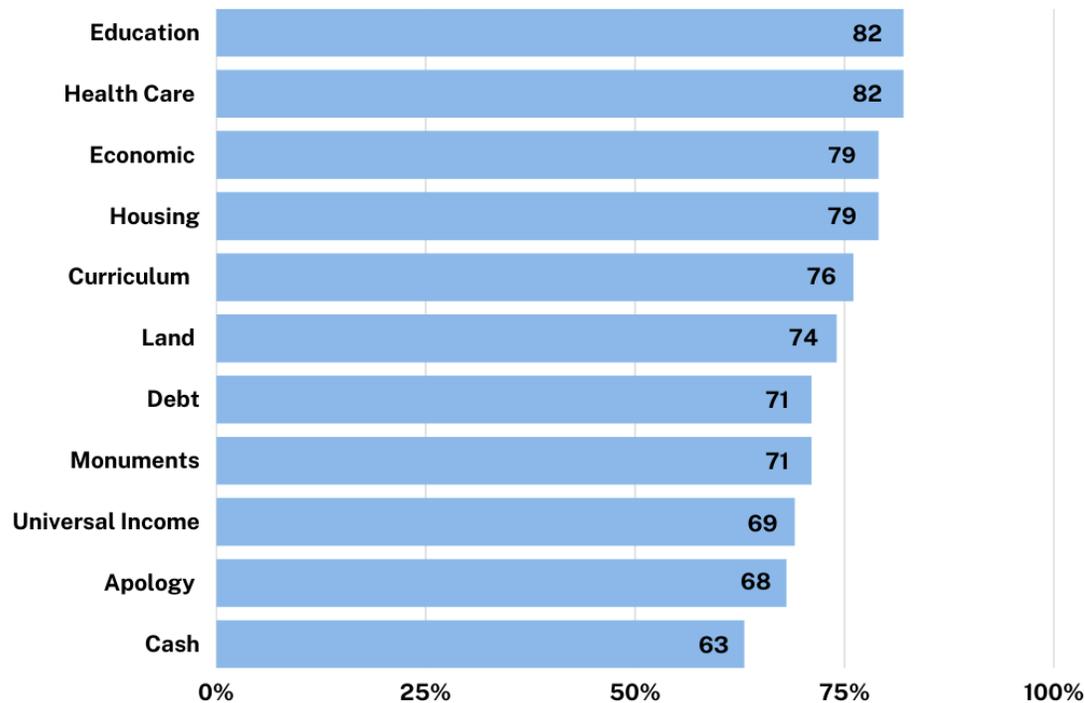
Alternatively, though not shown here, we also measured support as including only those who indicated that they strongly support the measure. When we define support in this manner, the overall level of support for each measure declines, on average by about 30 percentage points. However, the patterns of support for reparations across the demographic characteristics and political opinions examined below are similar. We present results for the broader measure of support – including both those that “strongly support” or are “likely to support” a reparations measure – because the latter expressed a greater tendency than not to support the measure if it were proposed.

FINDINGS

A Wide Majority of Californians Support Reparations Measures for Eligible Blacks

Our research indicates that a substantial majority of Californians support some form of reparations for eligible Black Californians. Specifically, Californians expressed the strongest levels of support for investments in the Black community in education (82%), health care (82%), and business development (79%). Respondents also strongly supported investments in housing through mortgage and down-payment assistance and housing revitalization grants (79%), curriculum reform (76%), and the return of seized property; that is, land that was unfairly/unjustly taken by public or private actors (74%).

FIGURE 1: SUPPORT FOR REPARATIONS MEASURES AMONG CALIFORNIANS'



Interestingly, respondents expressed less support for non-monetary forms of reparations, though a strong majority still supported these measures. For example, 68% of respondents indicated support for the state to issue an apology for racial harms and the lingering effects of slavery. Similarly, 71% of respondents supported erecting monuments to pay tribute to the victims of slavery and racial atrocities.

As previous research would have predicted, Californians expressed less support for reparations measures defined as direct cash transfers. In California, 63% of respondents supported this type of reparations – the lowest level of support of any measure surveyed. However, this still represents a majority of Californians and is a higher level of support than seen elsewhere in the nation. Importantly, more Californians favored a universal basic income program (68%) than a one-time direct cash payment, though both are forms of cash transfers.

Race and Age Are Strong Predictors of Support for Reparations Measures

For the remaining analysis, we categorized reparations measures into three distinct categories: direct cash transfers, non-cash monetary measures, and non-monetary measures. We did so to more easily examine how support varies with key demographics and individual opinions, separate from the overall results. First, we

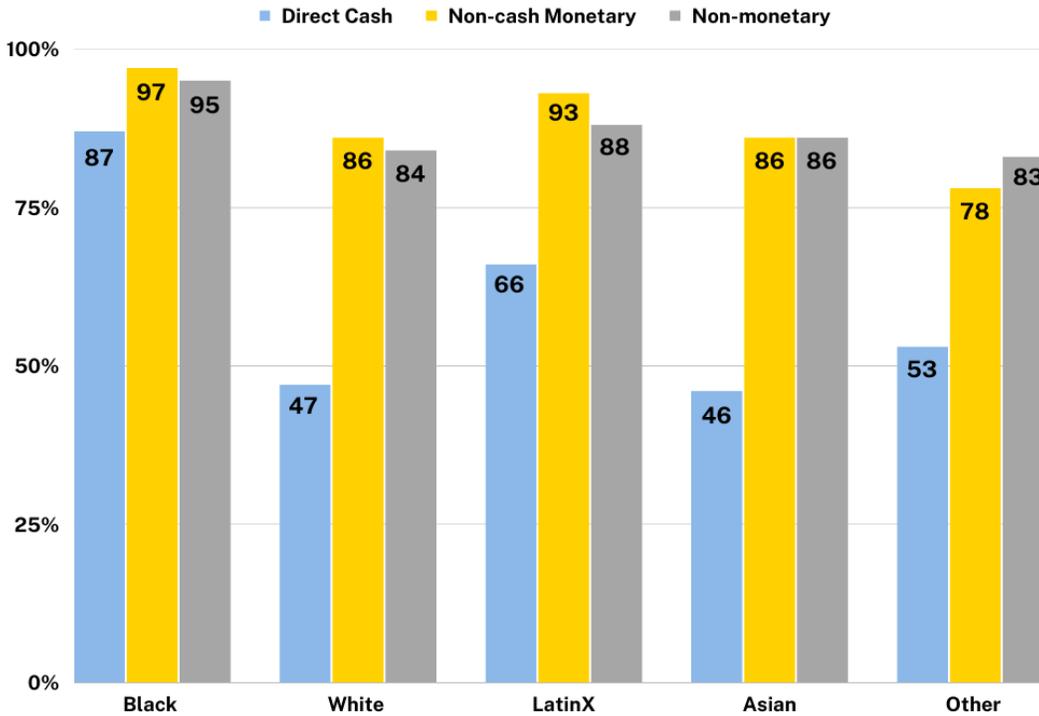
consider monetary forms of reparations to include measures that require significant governmental budgetary commitments. Thus, non-cash monetary measures include business investments, debt relief, free education, health care, housing down payment grants, and a guaranteed basic income program for eligible Blacks. Second, we define non-monetary measures to include apologies, curriculum reform, monuments, and the return of seized property.¹⁷ Finally, we treat direct cash transfers as a standalone category.¹⁸

The results indicate that race is a salient factor in understanding support for reparations, especially direct cash transfers, as previous polling results show. Black Californians' support for direct cash reparations (87%) was nearly two times greater than support among Whites (47%) and Asian Americans (46%). Support within the Latinx community for such reparations is also relatively strong, with nearly two-thirds (66%) supporting direct cash transfers.

¹⁷ We included the return of seized property in the non-monetary category because the transfer of seized property to rightful heirs is likely not to involve governmental budgetary commitments. However, we acknowledge that seized property has monetary value, and its transfer provides monetary gains to those who lost it unjustly.

¹⁸ Table A.1 in the appendix presents data on support levels for each of the 11 reparations measures queried as well as how these levels vary across the key demographic and belief characteristics included in the study.

FIGURE 2: SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY RACE IN CALIFORNIA



Non-cash monetary measures were the most popular reparations category across all racial and ethnic groups surveyed. Nearly all Black Californians (97%) and nine in 10 LatinX respondents (93%) support these reparations measures. Similarly, more than three-quarters of White (86%), Asian American (86%), and Other (77%) respondents expressed support for these measures.

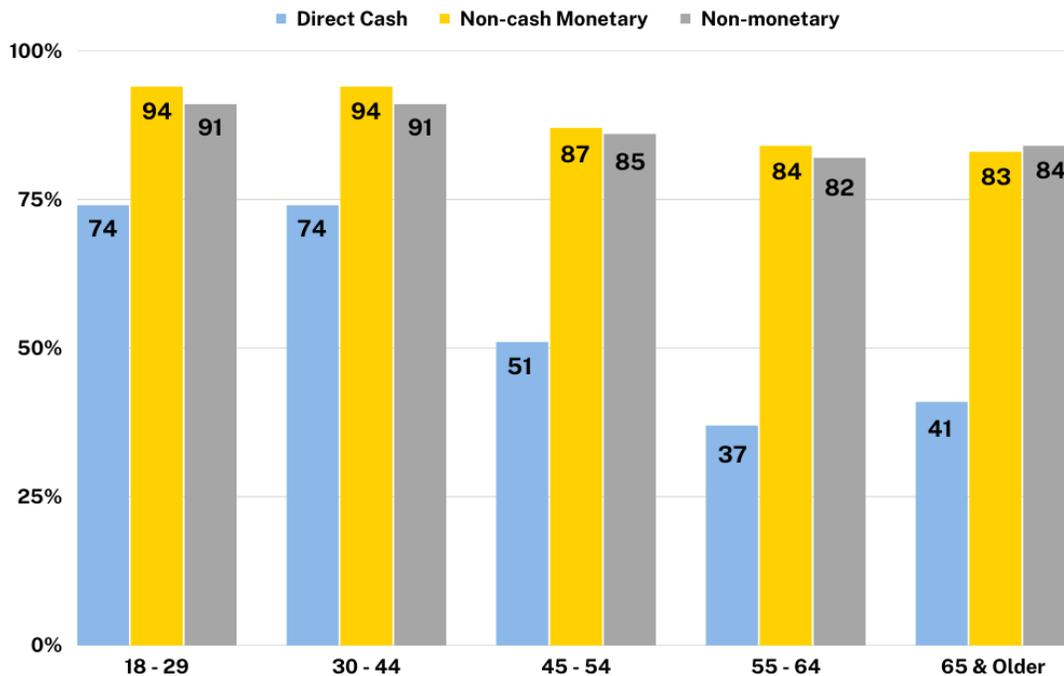
Lastly, Californians across racial and ethnic groups also expressed strong support for non-monetary reparations measures for eligible Blacks, though slightly less than the support for non-cash monetary measures. Strong majorities of Black (95%), LatinX (88%), Asian (86%), White (84%), and Other (83%) respondents indicated support for this reparations type.

Baby Boomers and Gen X Are Less Inclined to Support Cash Reparations than Millennials and Gen Z

Age is also a significant predictor of support for reparations proposals, especially direct cash transfers. Support for direct cash was highest among Gen Z, or in our survey ages 18 to 29 (74%), and Millennials, or ages 30 to 44 (74%). Roughly half (51%) of Gen X,

or ages 45 to 54, indicated a likeliness to support a direct cash measure. Levels of support were significantly lower for ages 55 to 64 (37%) and those over 65 (41%).

FIGURE 3: SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY AGE IN CALIFORNIA



We observe a similar, although less pronounced trend when evaluating support for non-cash monetary measures. More than nine in 10 (94%) respondents ages 18 to 44 indicated support for non-cash monetary measures. Meanwhile, support falls slightly but remains high among older age groups. More than eight in 10 respondents ages 45 to 54 (87%), 55 to 64 (84%), and 65 and older (83%) expressed support for non-cash monetary measures. We find the same results by age regarding the level of support for non-monetary repairment measures for eligible Blacks.

There is Little Difference in Support for Reparations by Gender

Men and women express nearly identical levels of support for reparations. This is true for all categories of reparations measures including direct cash transfers, non-cash monetary measures, and non-monetary measures. For example, our survey found that 62% of men and 62% of women support direct cash transfers.

FIGURE 4: SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY GENDER IN CALIFORNIA



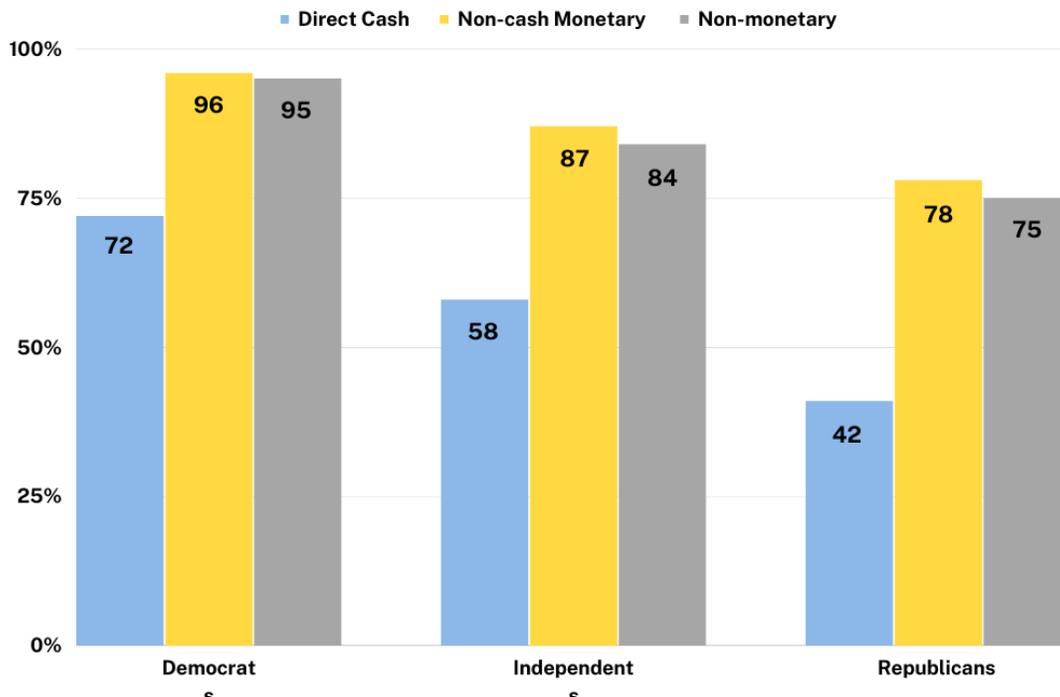
A slightly greater percentage of women than men supported non-cash monetary measures (92% vs. 88%). This pattern is also true for non-monetary measures, where 89% of women indicated support for non-monetary measures, compared to a smaller percentage of men (87%).¹⁹

Political Party Affiliation Is Strongly Associated with Support for Reparations Measures in California

Political party affiliation – which can reflect individuals’ views about the role of government – is a strong predictor of support for reparations for Black Californians. Those who identify as Democrats expressed stronger support for all categories of reparations measures than either those who identify as independents or Republicans.

¹⁹ In addition to questions regarding respondents’ race, age, gender, we also asked about their educational attainment, though many did not respond. Those that did tended to be older, and more likely to be White, LatinX, or Asian American compared to the overall sample. We therefore do not have full confidence that the results by educational attainment are representative of California as a whole. However, the results are consistent with expectations based on previous research, and are shown in the appendix (Figure A.1). The strongest support for reparations measures come from more educated Californians—those with a bachelor’s degree or higher—and particularly for non-cash monetary reparations. Support for direct cash payments and for non-monetary measures did not vary significantly by educational attainment.

FIGURE 5: SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY POLITICAL PARTY IN CALIFORNIA



Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Democrats supported direct cash transfers as a form of reparations, while 58% of independents and 42% of Republicans supported this measure. Those identifying as Democrats were also more likely to support non-cash monetary and non-monetary reparations. Almost all Democrats (96%) supported non-cash monetary forms of reparations while 87% of independents did. A smaller share, but still a majority, of Republicans (78%) expressed support for this form of reparations.

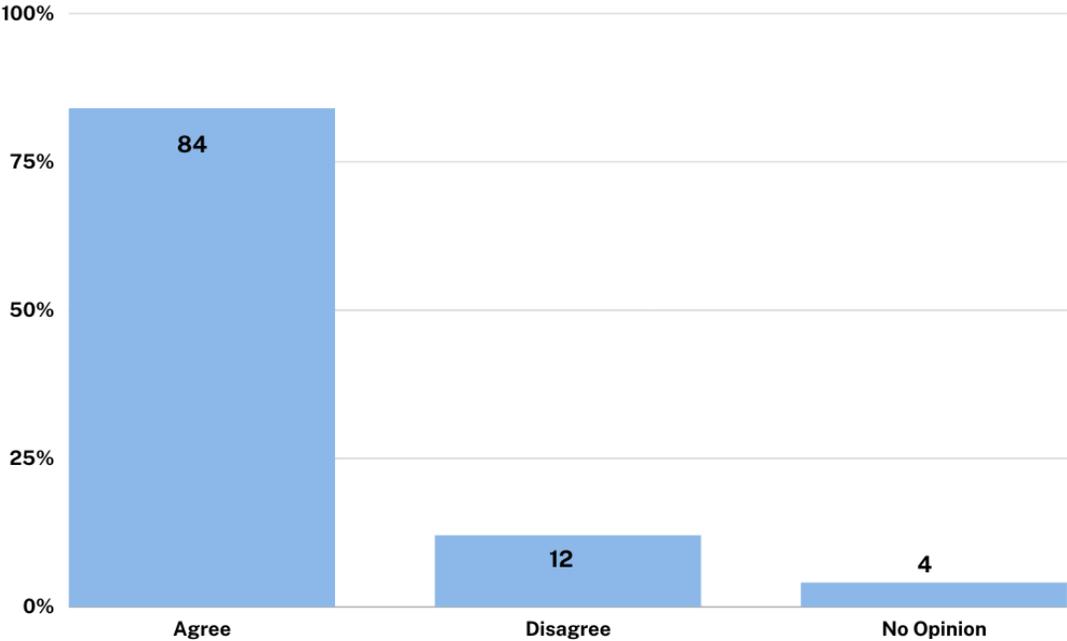
Finally, Democrats' support for non-monetary reparations measures (95%) exceeded that for independents (84%) and Republicans (75%). Still, a large majority of Republicans support this category of reparations as well.

Opinions about Racial Inequality are Associated with Support for Reparations

In the survey, we also asked respondents whether they agree that racial inequality in social and economic outcomes is a significant concern. We did so to gauge individuals' awareness of the importance of race in understanding social and economic problems in the United States, with the hypothesis that those who agreed that racial inequality is a significant concern would be more likely to support reparations for Black Californians.

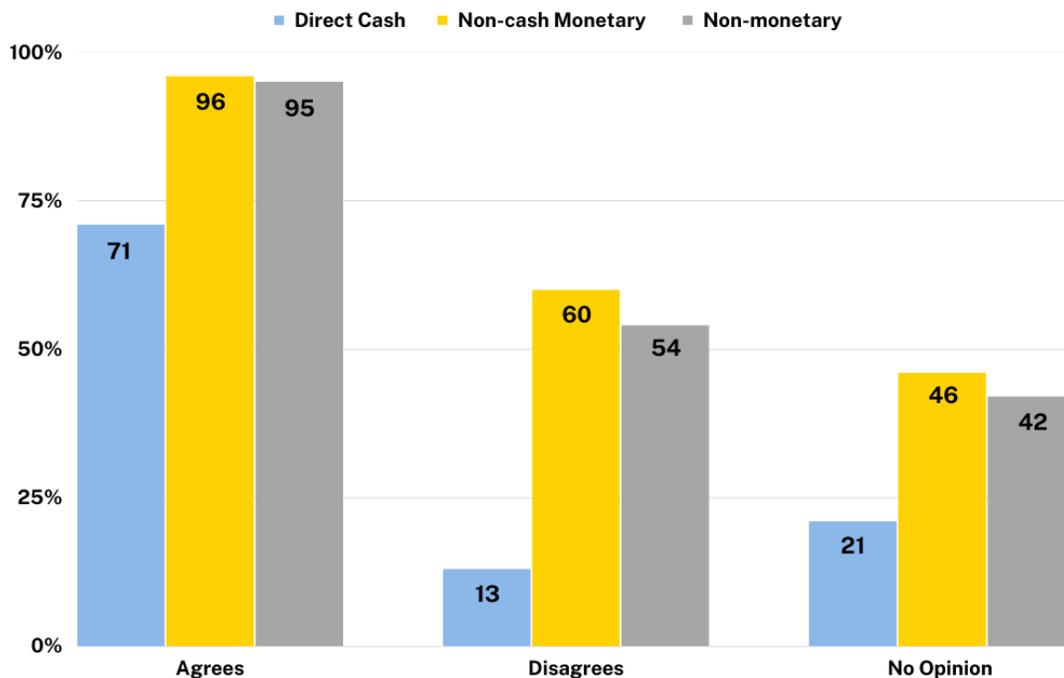
We found that a vast majority of Californians (84%) agrees that racial inequality in the United States is a concern. A smaller share of respondents (12%) indicated that they did not agree with this statement, and 4% of respondents indicated that they had no opinion on this issue.

FIGURE 6: CALIFORNIAS' OPINIONS ON WHETHER RACIAL INEQUALITY IS A SOCIAL CONCERN



These sentiments about racial inequality map onto support for reparations measures in expected ways. Those who agreed that racial inequality is a concern supported all reparations measures at much higher levels than those who disagreed with this statement. Of those who agreed, 71% supported direct cash transfers, 96% supported non-cash monetary measures, and 95% supported non-monetary measures. On the other hand, of those who disagreed, only 13% supported direct cash transfers, roughly half (54%) supported non-monetary measures, and less than two-thirds (60%) supported non-cash monetary items.

FIGURE 7: SUPPORT FOR REPARATIONS MEASURES BY OPINION ON WHETHER RACIAL INEQUALITY IS A SOCIAL CONCERN



Like those who disagreed with the statement that racial inequality is a concern, those who reported no opinion on the matter expressed lower levels of support for all categories of reparations measures. Twenty-one percent supported direct cash transfers, while 46% supported non-cash monetary measures and 42% supported non-monetary measures.

Intensity of Support for Reparations Measures

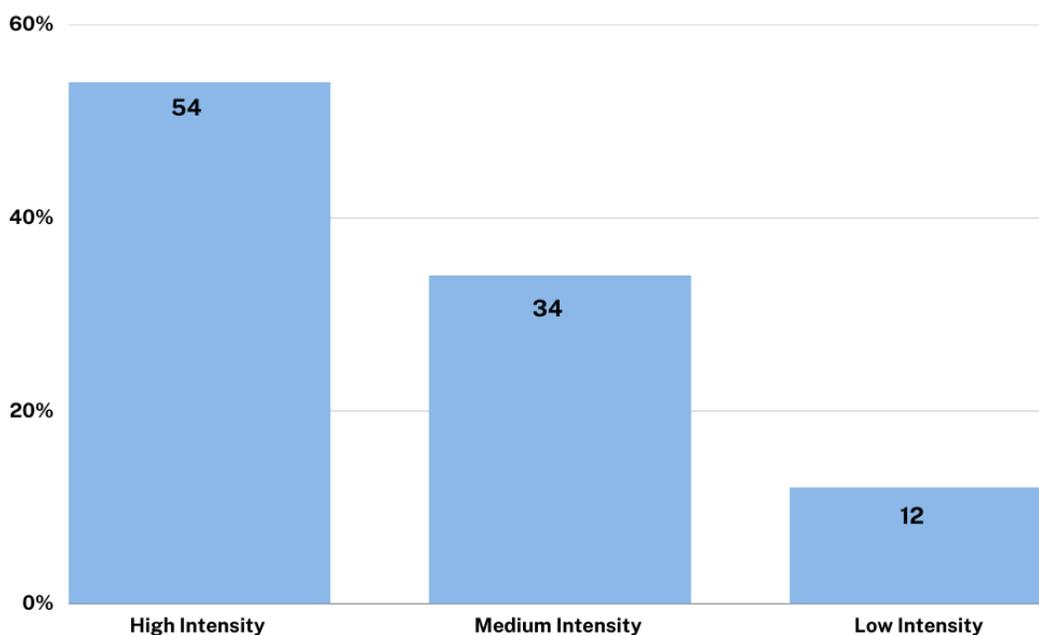
To better gauge the intensity of Californians’ support for reparations measures for eligible Blacks, we analyzed the number of reparations measures supported by respondents and examined these numbers by the key characteristics cited above.

To do so, we first counted the number of reparations measures each respondent supported. Then, we categorized those supporting at least nine of these measures as “high-intensity supporters,” those supporting between four and eight measures as “medium-intensity supporters,” and those supporting between zero and three measures as “low-intensity supporters.” We note that while the average number of measures supported by Californians is seven, this average varies by the key demographic, political affiliation, and opinion characteristics discussed above, and in the expected directions.

Overall, Californians are High-Intensity Supporters of Reparations for Eligible Blacks

By the definitions provided above, most Californians (54%) are high-intensity supporters of reparations measures, meaning they support nine or more reparations measures. About one-third (34%) of Californians are medium-intensity supporters of reparations, while 12% are considered low-intensity supporters.

FIGURE 8: SUPPORT FOR REPARATIONS MEASURES IN CALIFORNIA BY INTENSITY OF SUPPORT



We assessed the intensity of support for reparations measures by the key characteristics examined above and found similar patterns. We report results for those characteristics where the difference in support for reparations by intensity is significant. These characteristics include race, age, political affiliation, and opinions about racial inequality in society.

Shown in the appendix (Figures A.2 through A.5), we found that Blacks, and to a lesser extent LatinX individuals, are more likely to be high-intensity supporters of reparations measures than White, Other, or Asian American Californians. Indeed, 75% of Black Californians are high-intensity supporters compared to 43% of White Californians.

Regarding age, younger respondents (under age 45) are much more likely to be high-intensity supporters of reparations for eligible Blacks than older adults. Respondents ages 30 to 44 had the highest share of high-intensity supporters (62%).

As expected, those who identify as Democrats are much more likely to be high-intensity supporters (66%) than Republicans (32%). The percentage of independents who are high-intensity supporters falls between the two (46%).

Finally, those in the survey who agreed with the statement that racial inequality in social and economic outcomes is a significant societal concern were much more likely to be high-intensity supporters of reparations than those who did not agree. Sixty-three percent of those who agreed with this statement are high-intensity supporters while 7% of those who did not agree showed this level of support.

CONCLUSION

As California identifies racial harms to Black Californians and debates whether and what remedies should be considered to repair that harm, the extent to which Californians support reparations proposals has remained unclear. This question is important because the viability of reparations proposals is in large part influenced by public support for them.

Nationally, polling has consistently shown that most Americans do not support reparation proposals. However, this support varies across important characteristics – especially race, where Black American support for reparations is consistently strong. Further, there are reasons to believe that public support for reparations has previously been underestimated. This is because some surveys have defined reparations as direct cash payments to eligible Blacks, and many respondents have a negative view of such forms of reparations. Moreover, many public opinion surveys on this topic took place before, during, or immediately after the recent period of heightened attention to the brutal killings of Blacks by police officers, which sparked racial justice movements for change and accountability. These events, among other factors, may have influenced public opinion toward greater support for reparations.

The results shown here indicate that a clear majority of Californians support all forms of reparations for eligible Blacks, including direct cash payments, and that this level of support is greater than that demonstrated nationally. In addition to the reasons cited above, the greater support for reparations by Californians may reflect California's tendency to support more progressive and social justice causes than many other states.

While strong overall, this support varies by the type of reparations proposed and by key demographics. Support is greatest for measures that involve economic resources other than direct cash transfers (reflecting in part the more negative public views of such remedies, though in practice the resource commitments are the same). This includes universal basic income policies that also provide direct cash to recipients on a consistent basis. Californians also support economic investments in areas such as education, health care, and economic development for Black people and communities to a greater degree than direct cash transfers. They also strongly support non-monetary forms of reparations that include curriculum reform and returning unjustly seized property, among other proposals.

Black and younger Californians support all forms of reparations proposals to a greater degree than their counterparts of other races and ages, as do those who identify as Democrats and who agree that racial inequality in society is a concern. These results largely meet expectations given that these groups demonstrate support for social and racial justice issues more generally.

One question that remains is how robust these results are to changing circumstances and conditions. The survey did not ask respondents to consider the budgetary implications of reparations support. The level of support for reparations proposals could be lower than that demonstrated here if people believed governmental resources were insufficient to support reparation efforts or if they believed that support for reparations was a zero-sum game, meaning that money spent on reparations comes from other budget items – especially ones that they perceive benefit them. However, the survey was taken during the latter part of the COVID-19 pandemic when global economic and state-level budget uncertainties were serious concerns, as they still are. The timing of these results strongly suggests that the high level of support for reparations in California demonstrated here is real and potentially resilient during times of economic uncertainty.

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Appendix Tables and Figures

Table A.1 Support for Reparation Measures											
	Apology	Cash	Curriculum Reform	Debt Forgiveness	Economic	Education	Health Care	Housing	Land Restoration	Monuments	Universal Basic Income
Total	68%	63%	76%	71%	79%	82%	82%	79%	75%	71%	69%
By Race											
White	60%	47%	71%	58%	74%	76%	76%	72%	68%	64%	56%
Black	80%	87%	88%	89%	91%	91%	90%	92%	88%	83%	88%
LatinX	70%	66%	76%	76%	79%	83%	84%	80%	72%	72%	71%
Asian	66%	46%	70%	58%	76%	81%	76%	70%	70%	63%	57%
Other	57%	53%	68%	64%	68%	70%	72%	68%	69%	65%	61%
By Age											
18-29	74%	74%	77%	77%	80%	82%	82%	81%	76%	77%	77%
30-44	72%	74%	82%	80%	84%	86%	87%	86%	78%	78%	77%
45-54	66%	51%	73%	66%	77%	80%	79%	75%	71%	66%	62%

55-64	54%	37%	66%	51%	71%	76%	73%	67%	69%	57%	48%
65 and Over	56%	41%	73%	54%	73%	77%	73%	70%	72%	52%	54%
By Gender											
Men	64%	62%	74%	68%	77%	78%	78%	76%	72%	68%	67%
Women	71%	63%	78%	70%	81%	85%	84%	81%	76%	73%	70%
By Political Party											
Democrat	78%	72%	86%	82%	88%	90%	90%	88%	83%	81%	79%
Republican	47%	41%	56%	47%	63%	66%	64%	61%	57%	49%	47%
Independent	64%	58%	70%	66%	73%	77%	76%	74%	68%	66%	63%
Opinions About Racial Inequality											
Agree	77%	71%	85%	80%	87%	90%	89%	87%	83%	79%	78%
Disagree	28%	21%	28%	24%	29%	36%	38%	31%	27%	21%	18%
No Position	21%	13%	28%	23%	37%	41%	42%	35%	29%	27%	16%

FIGURE A.1: SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN CALIFORNIA

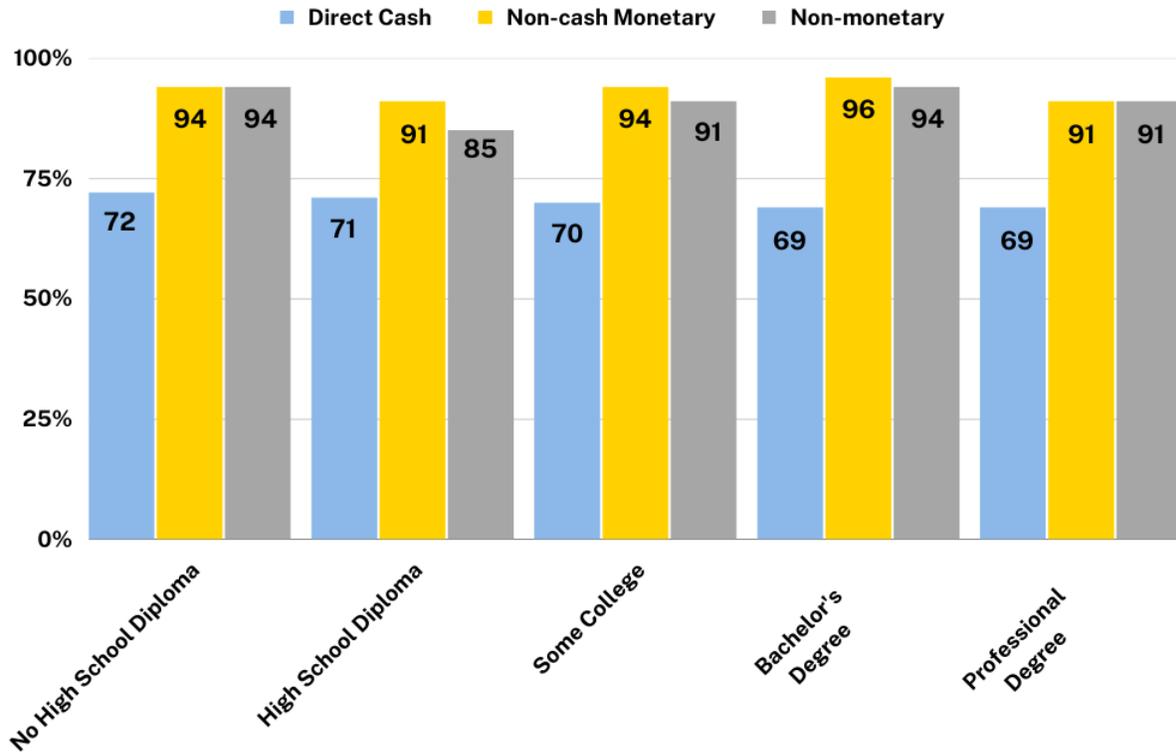


FIGURE A.2: HIGH-INTENSITY SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY RACE IN CALIFORNIA

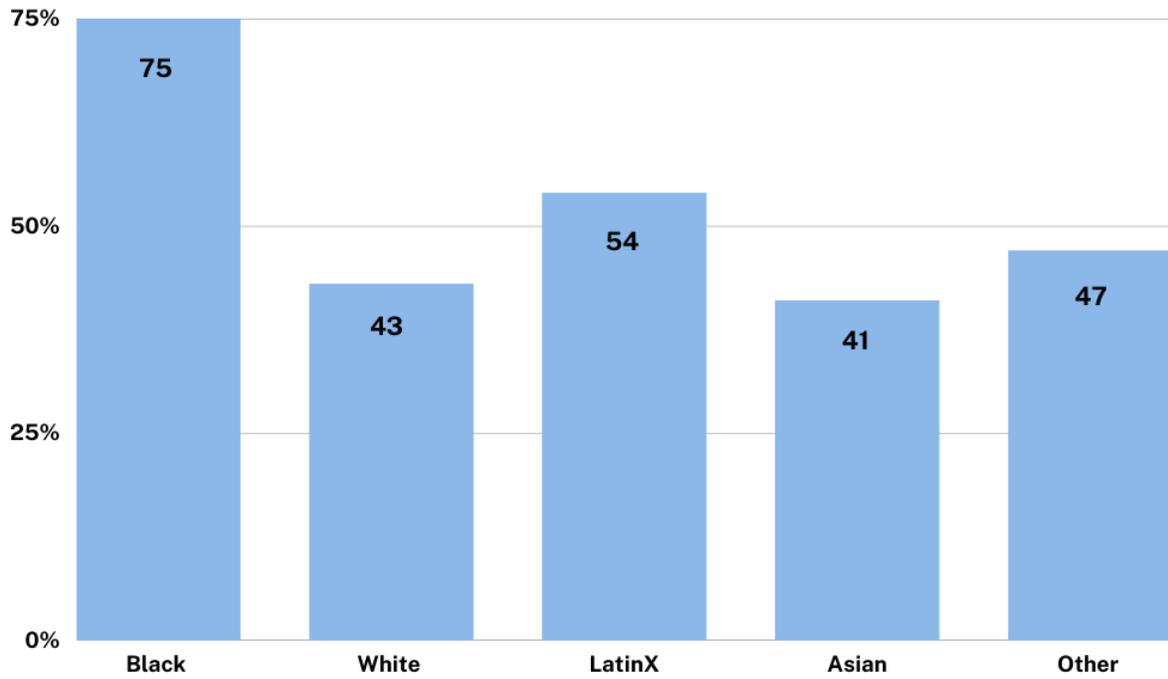


FIGURE A.3: HIGH-INTENSITY SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY AGE IN CALIFORNIA

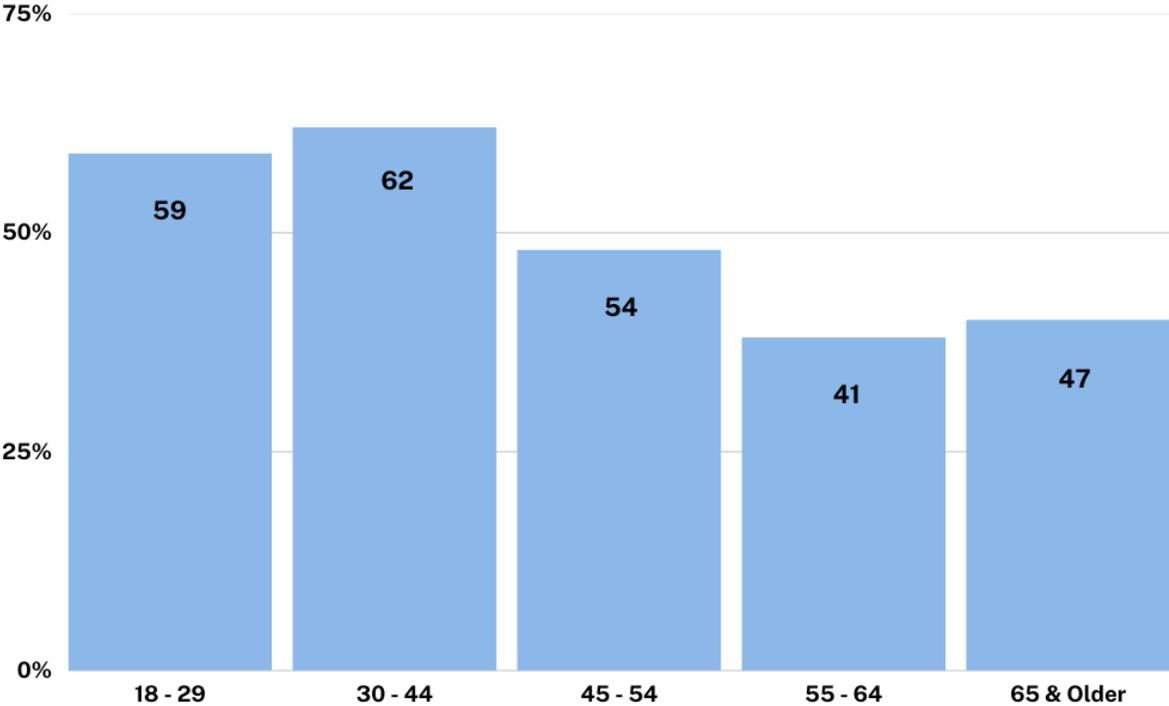


FIGURE A.4: HIGH-INTENSITY SUPPORT FOR CATEGORIES OF REPARATIONS MEASURES BY POLITICAL PARTY IN CALIFORNIA

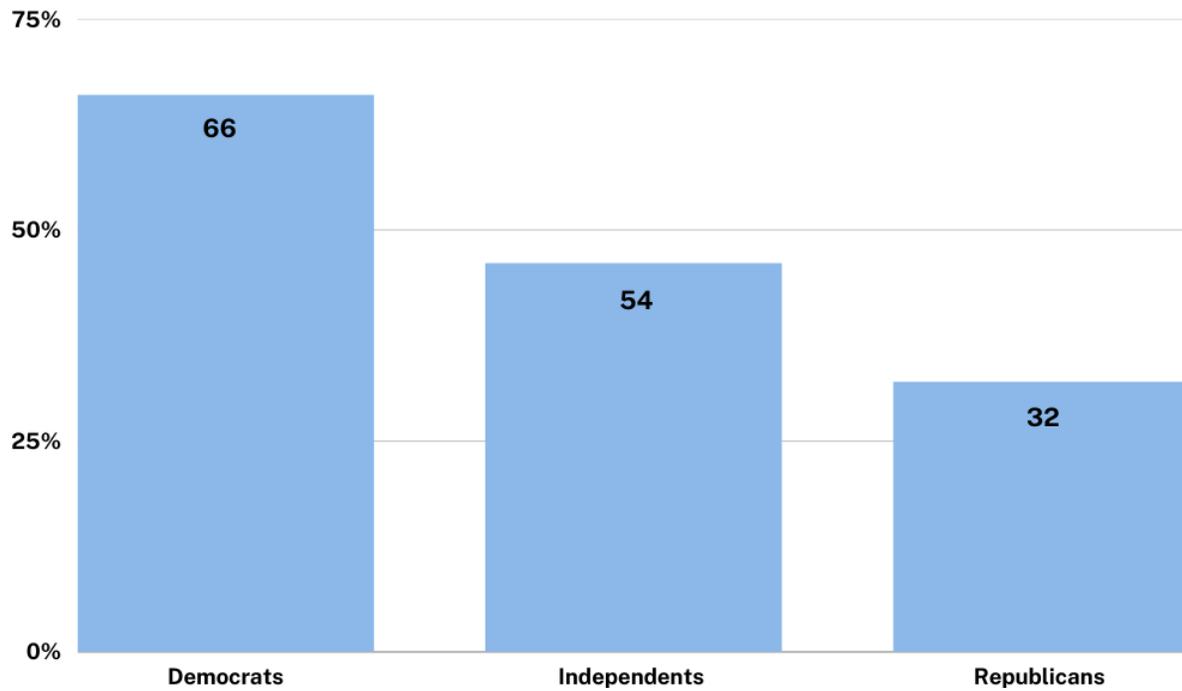


FIGURE A.5: CALIFORNIAS' OPINIONS ON WHETHER RACIAL INEQUALITY IS A SOCIAL CONCERN BY HIGH-INTENSITY OF SUPPORT

